/121/

621 616 [111] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in [222] [292] space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [273] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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Chipaya

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Social Organization

622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

[123] [345]

/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 576 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 535 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He [292] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold [824] at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. [939] Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves. His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

Carangas--
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*hučʉ*) or *sica quirkitha* (*kirkiʼa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilančа* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusipʼia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.